

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جامعة الخرطوم

كلية الدراسات العليا

كلية الدراسات الإقتصادية والإجتماعية

قسم العلوم السياسية

الإسلام والدولة القطرية

دراسة للمشروع السياسي الإسلامي في السودان

(1989 – 2005)

بحث لنيل درجة الدكتوراة في العلوم السياسية

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Abstract

The study examines the problem of the relationship between Islam and the territorial state and what the latter poses as challenges to Islamic regimes and movements; namely: the Islamic project of the National Salvation Revolution (1989 – 2005). The study derives its importance from two factors:

- (1) The right of groups, Muslims or otherwise to organize their lives according to their beliefs and convictions.
- (2) The increasing dominance of the current process of globalization which poses the real challenge to Islam as political and cultural rival.

Consequently, the study is concerned with the clarification of the relationship between Islam and the territorial state, while presenting the vision of the Sudanese Islamic Movement as model. The main objective of the study is to examine the challenges facing the Salvation experience in its attempt to consolidate a state based on Islamic principles in the same structure of the territorial state. The study starts from the premise that the territorial State contradicts the assumptions of the Islamic state. Other subsidiary challenges; include the identity of the nation, the southern problem as a national question and instability in an environment of under - development.

The Salvation regime succeeded in providing solutions to overcome contradictions between the requirements of the Islamic political project and the territorial State. These have been incorporated into the CPA and the Sudan Transitional Constitution 2005. They are mainly:

1. The adoption of the federal system of government to ensure greater autonomy for ethnic and religious minorities.
2. Insuring the principle of separate legislation for non-Muslim minorities, in order not to impose Islamic penalties (Hudud) at them.
3. Reaffirming the principle of citizenship as basis for rights and duties.

The conclusion so far is that the political project of Islam, despite its contradiction with the contemporary territorial state but it could be accommodated within it. The study also, recommended the review of some Islamic principles and theoretical concepts including; its comprehensiveness and universality and validity for any time and in any place.

Finally, the study's most important finding in assessing the Islamic project is briefly that, the imposition of any unilateral vision by using state organs would raise many problems and crises that threaten the stability and the very survival of the State, and may lead to the alienation of the society from the regime.

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3 H. Paul Chalfont, Robert E. Beckley, C. Eddie Palmer: "Religion in Contemporary Society", Third Edition (U.S, Peacock Publishers, 1994), P. 314 to 333.

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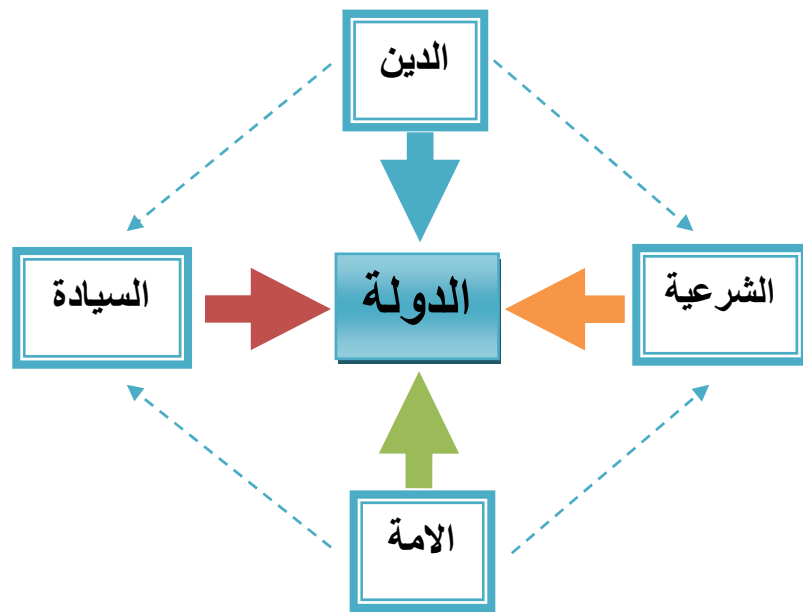
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40 Talal Asad: "the Idea of an Anthropology of Islam", the Center for Contemporary Arab Series (CCAS) Occasional Paper Series, 1986 reprinted in 1996 (Washington, CCAS, 1996), P. 16 ---- 17.

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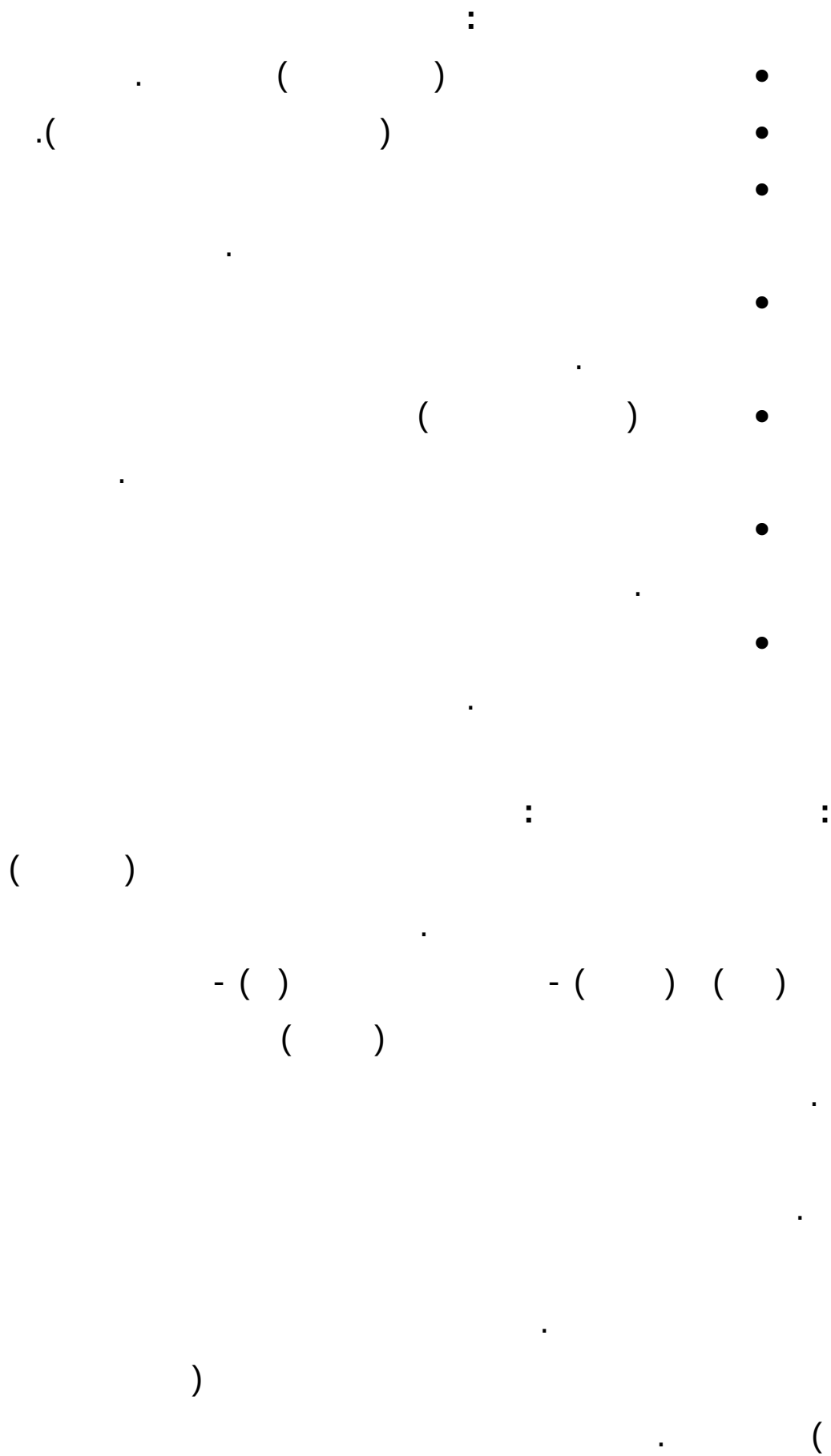
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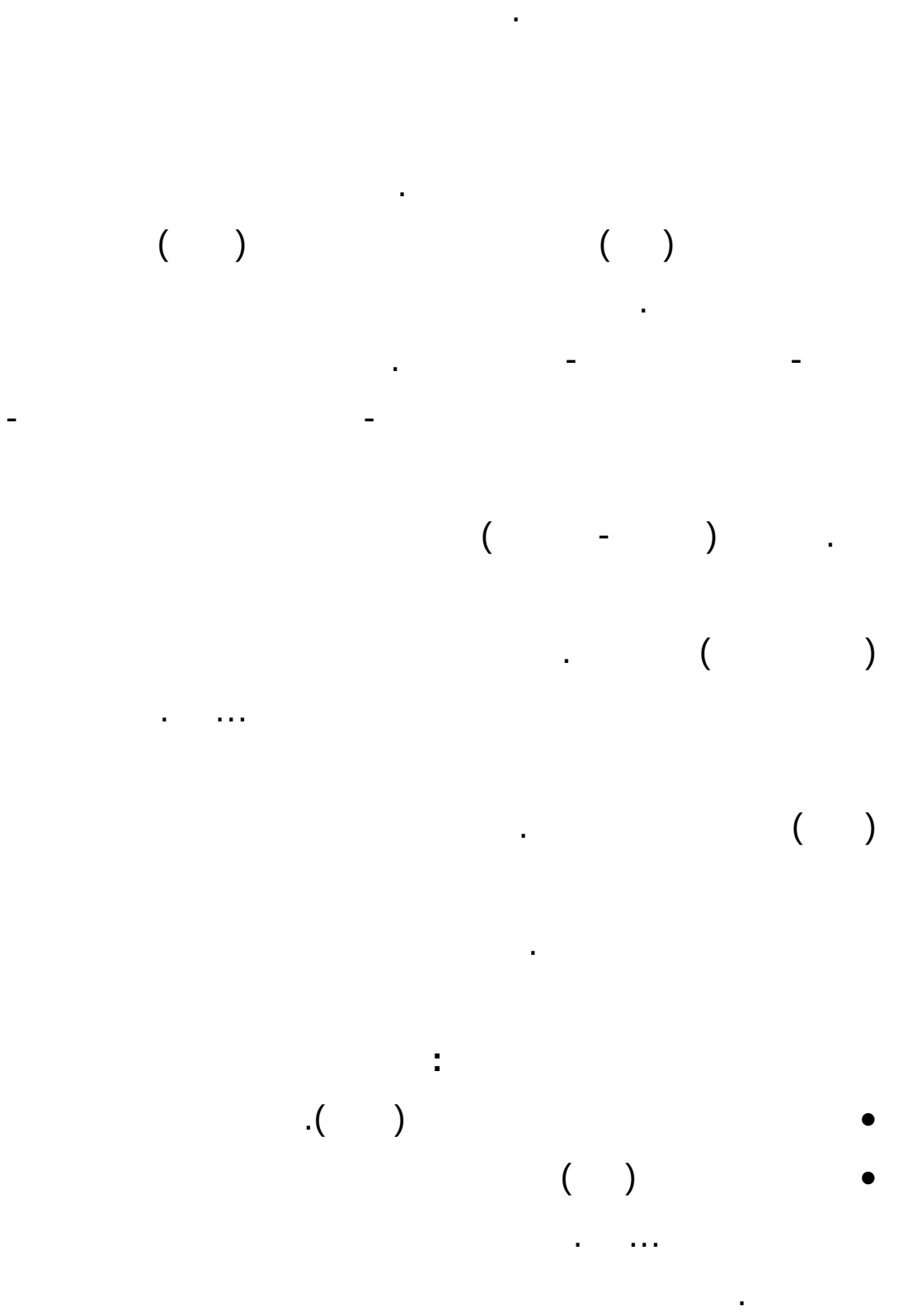
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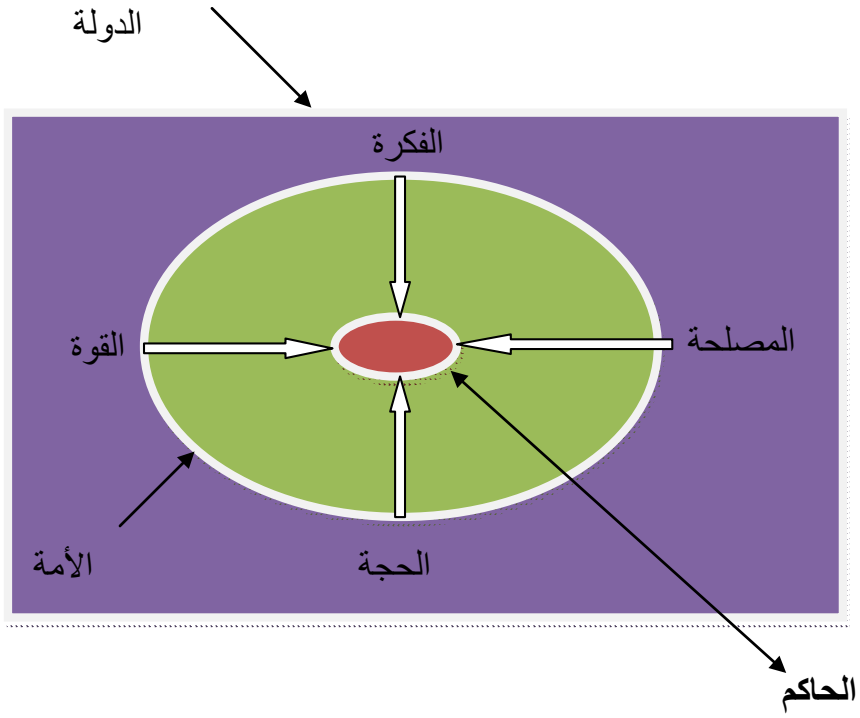


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Arab State System), in: Ghassan Salame, ed., The Foundation of the Arab State(London:
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68 Mekki Shibeka, The Independent Sudan (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1959), P. 16

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70 Omer Elkhair Ibrahim, Islamization in Sudan: Political and Constitutional Changes (1989 - -- 1999), Master thesis in Political Science, UIA, Malaysia, March 2000, P. 23 --- 24.

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86 Meredith B. McGuire: "Religion: The Social Context", 5th Edition, (USA: Wadsworth, 2002), P. 11

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133 Abdelwahab El- Affendi, , Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan, (London: Grey Seal Books, 1991), p. 164>

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136 Shahin, Emad Eldin, Through Muslim Eyes: M. Rashid Rida and the West, The International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon (Virginia), 1981(1401), P. 6

137 " :
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138 .(

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142 " : 23 - 25 .
 143 Arthur L. Lowrie, Islam, Democracy, the State and the West; around table with Dr. Hasan Turabi, (USA: the World and Islam Studies Enterprise, 1993), p. 18
 144 " : 30 - 31 .

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145 Manohar R. Wadhwani: Introduction to Politics, (Bombay: Sheth Publishers, 1989),
Second Edition, P. 55.

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.120 - 69 (1984

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.78 - 77 (1980

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.13 - 12	4	(1992	:	) "	" :	148
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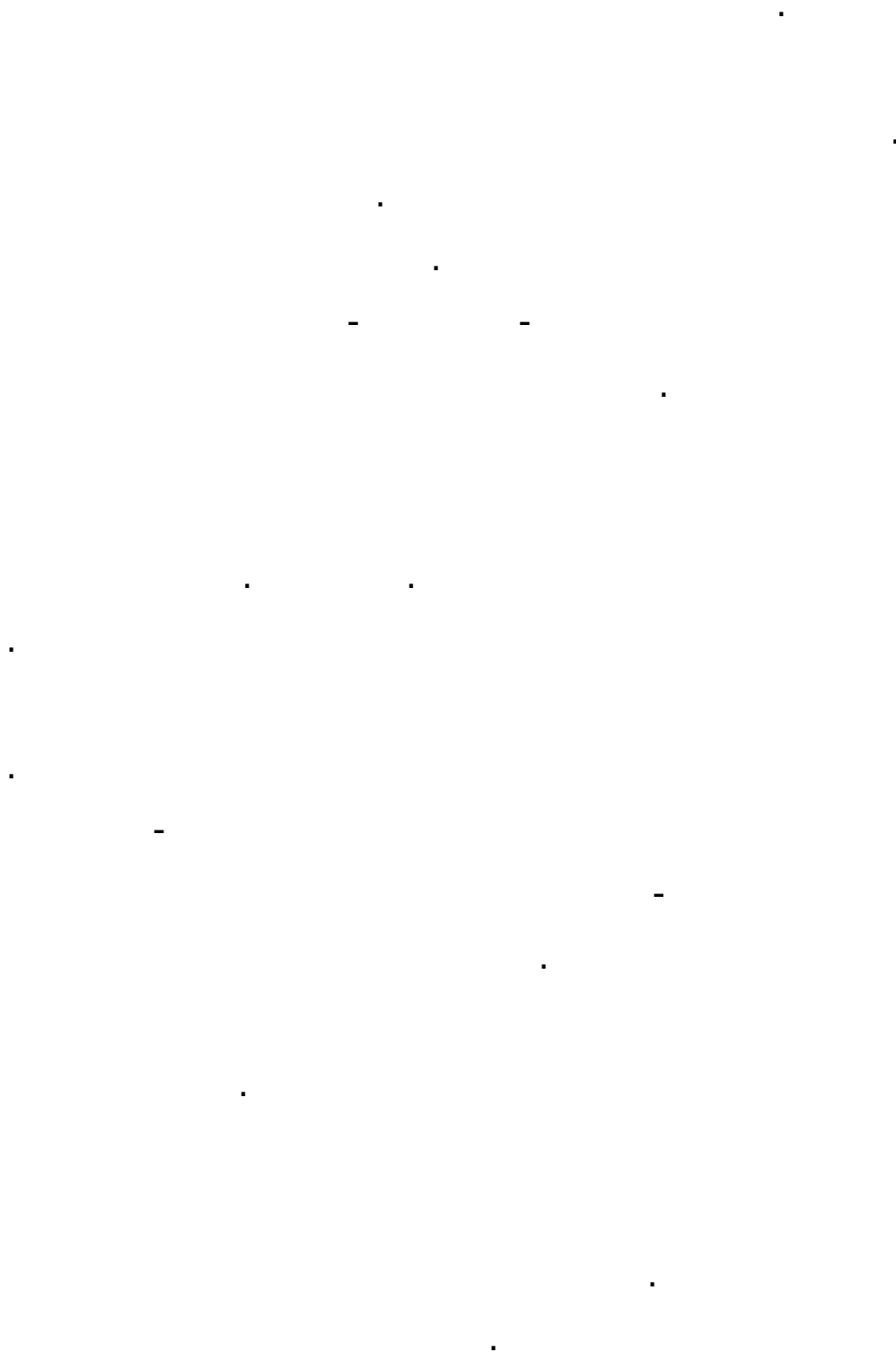
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178 ■

177 David Held & Others: "Global Transformations", 3th edition (UK, Polity Press, 2001), p. 45.

- (1992 :) : " " : 178 Bid., p. 49.

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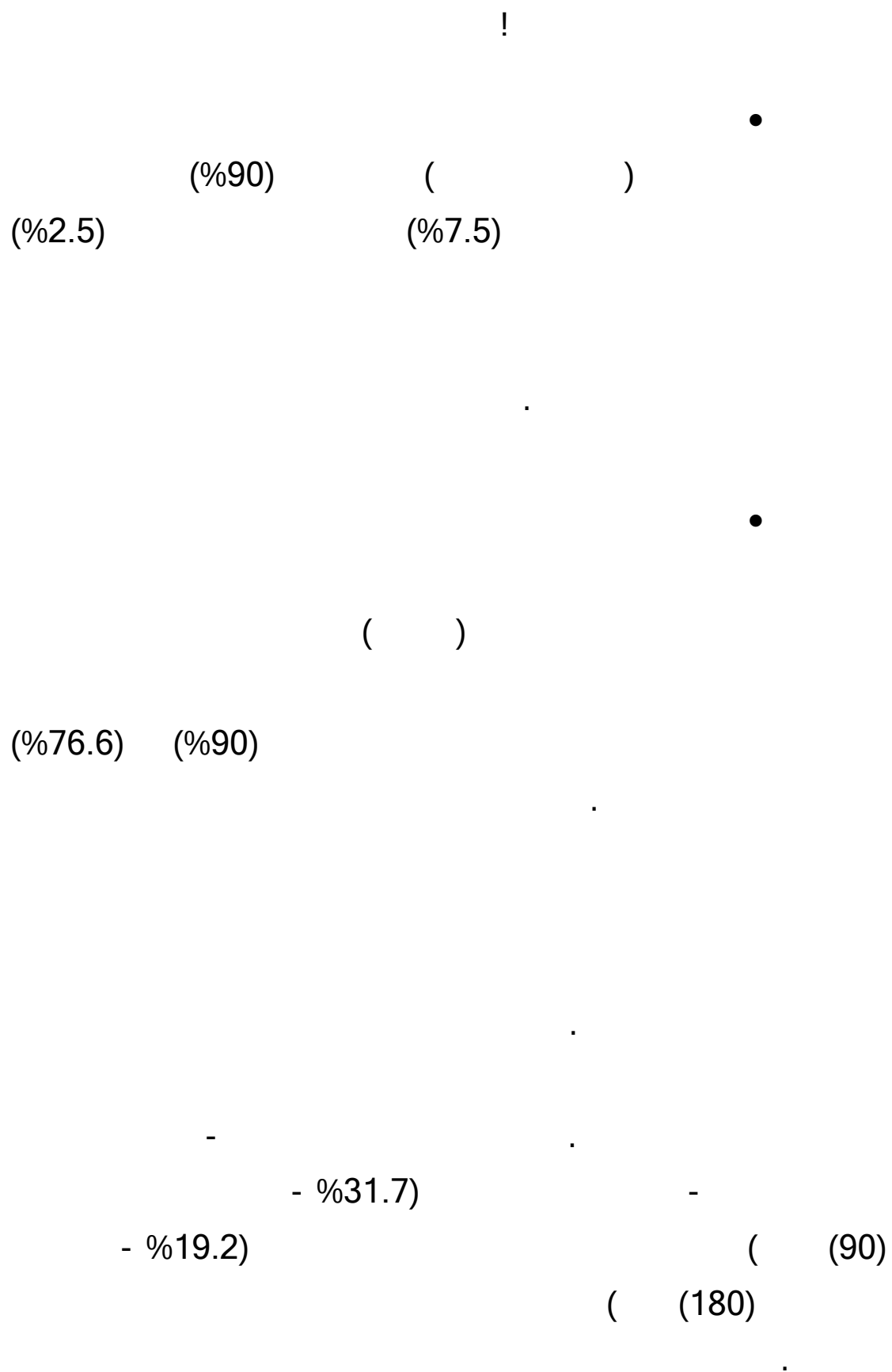
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(%12.7)

(%25.7 %17.8)

) .

.(- -

(%44.2) •

.()
%17.8) (%25.7
.(%12.7

.
-
(%46.2) - (16)
.(%22.6) (%29)

(16) .

()

.

(16)

/

:

%		%		%		
%22.6	21	%29	27	%46.2	43	

()

(17)

(%51.8) .

.

.

(17)

/

.

(%40)

(%36)

.

(17)

/

:

%		%		%		
%40	8	%20	4	%36	7	

()

.

.

.

(%50)

.
(%28)

: :

.

.

. ..

.

:

(18)

:

				()				
%		%		%		%		
%32.2	57	%11.3	20	%40.1	71	%15.8	28	
%45.2	38	%3.6	3	%48.8	41	%2.4	2	

%34.2	41	%5.8	7	%40.8	49	%18.3	22	
%35.7	136	%7.9	30	%42.3	16 1	%13.6	52	

(18)

:

(%11.3)

(%40.1) ()

.

.(%40.8 %48.8)

(%15.8)

(%32.2)

.

%3.6)

(%5.8

.

.(%34.2) (%45.2)

.

.(%48.8)

(%2.4)

(%45.2)

.

- (%3.6)

-

.

(%18.3)

(%40.8)

(%2.4) (%15.8)

()

.

- ()

-

- - () (%13.6)

:

(%48.8)

(%40.1)

(%42.3)

.(%40.8)

()

()

= (%42.3) + (%13.6)

.(%55.9)

.

.

:

(22) (21) (20) (19)

:

(19)

:

%		%		%		%		
%26.9	47	%13.7	24	%32.6	57	%24.6	43	
%57.6	49	%12.9	11	%22.4	19	%7.1	6	
%41.5	49	%5.9	7	%29.7	35	%19.5	23	
%36.4	145	%11.1	42	%29.4	111	%19	72	

: (19)

(%26.9) : -

.() (%24.6) () (%32.6)

(%57.6) : -

. () (%7.1)

(%41.5) : -

.() (%19.5)

.

(%13.7)

.
 (%12.9)
 (%5) .
 .
 ()
 () (20)
 () (%55) () (%35)
 -
 . -

(20)

:

%		%		%		%		
%10	2	-	-	%55	11	%35	7	

(%36.4)
 . (%19)
 () () (%29.4)
 (%48.4)
 .

:

(21)

:

%		%		%		%		
%40.3	71	%18.2	32	%25	44	%14.8	26	
%59.3	51	%10.5	9	%25.6	22	%4.7	4	
%56.3	67	%7.6	9	%21	25	%15.1	18	
%49.6	189	%13.1	50	%23.9	91	%12.6	48	

: (21)

() (%40.3) : -

() (%14.8) () (%25)

.

(%4.7) () (%59.3) : -

.() (%25.6) ()

.() (%15.1) () (%56.3) : -

(%56.3)

.(%40.3)

.

()

.

(22) .
 ()
 .
 (%20) (%25)
 .

(22)

:

%		%		%		%		
%20	4	%5	1	%50	10	%25	5	

(%49.6)
 . (%12.6)
 (%23.9) ()
 (%50) ()
 .
 .
) (%13.1)
 (

(7) - (%51.7)

.

.

:

(23)

%		%		%		%		
%33.9	59	%26.4	46	%25.9	45	%13.2	23	
%62.8	54	%5.8	5	%26.7	23	%4.7	4	
%48.7	57	%6.8	8	%29.9	35	%14.5	17	
%45.1	170	%15.6	59	%27.3	103	%11.7	44	

:

(23)

•

.(%4.7 %13.2) (%14.5)

(%29.9)

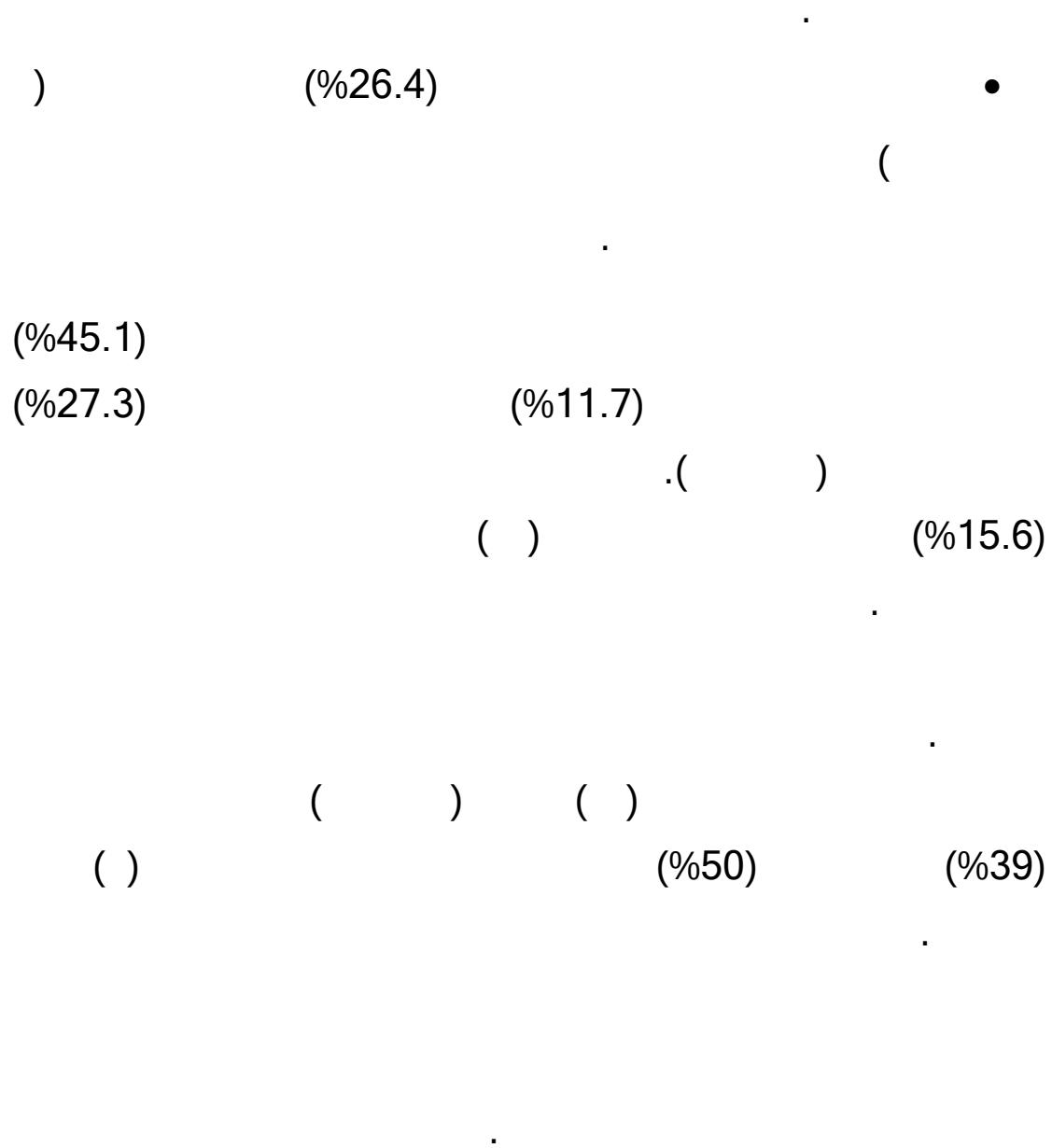
.()

(%4.7)

•

(%62.8)

.



:

(24)

:

%		%		%		%		
%33.1	57	%15.7	27	%15.1	26	%36	62	
%58.3	49	%9.5	8	%25	21	%7.1	6	
%47.9	57	%5	6	%28.6	34	%18.5	22	
%43.5	163	%10.9	41	%21.6	81	%24	90	

:

(24)

(%36)

-

%7.1)

.(%18.5

.

-

.(%7.1)

.(%58.3)

.

.(%24) (%43.5)

(%21.6) ()

(%45.6) ()

(%10.9) () .

() (%18.5) :
) (%28.6) () (%47.9)
(
() ()
(%47.9) (%47.1)
() (%5)
.
.
.
(%33.1) () (%36) ()
.
(%15.7) () (%15.1) ()
.
.
.

:

(25)

:

%		%		%		%		%		%		
%8.9	15	%40	68	%38.9	66	%10.1	17	%18.4	31	%14.8	25	
%2.4	2	%35.3	30	%50.6	43	%18.8	16	%16.5	14	%18.8	16	
%6.6	8	%45	54	%32.6	38	%10	12	%15.8	19	%16.3	33	
%7.4	27	%41.6	157	%38.7	146	%12.8	48	%17	64	%16.5	63	

: (25)

-

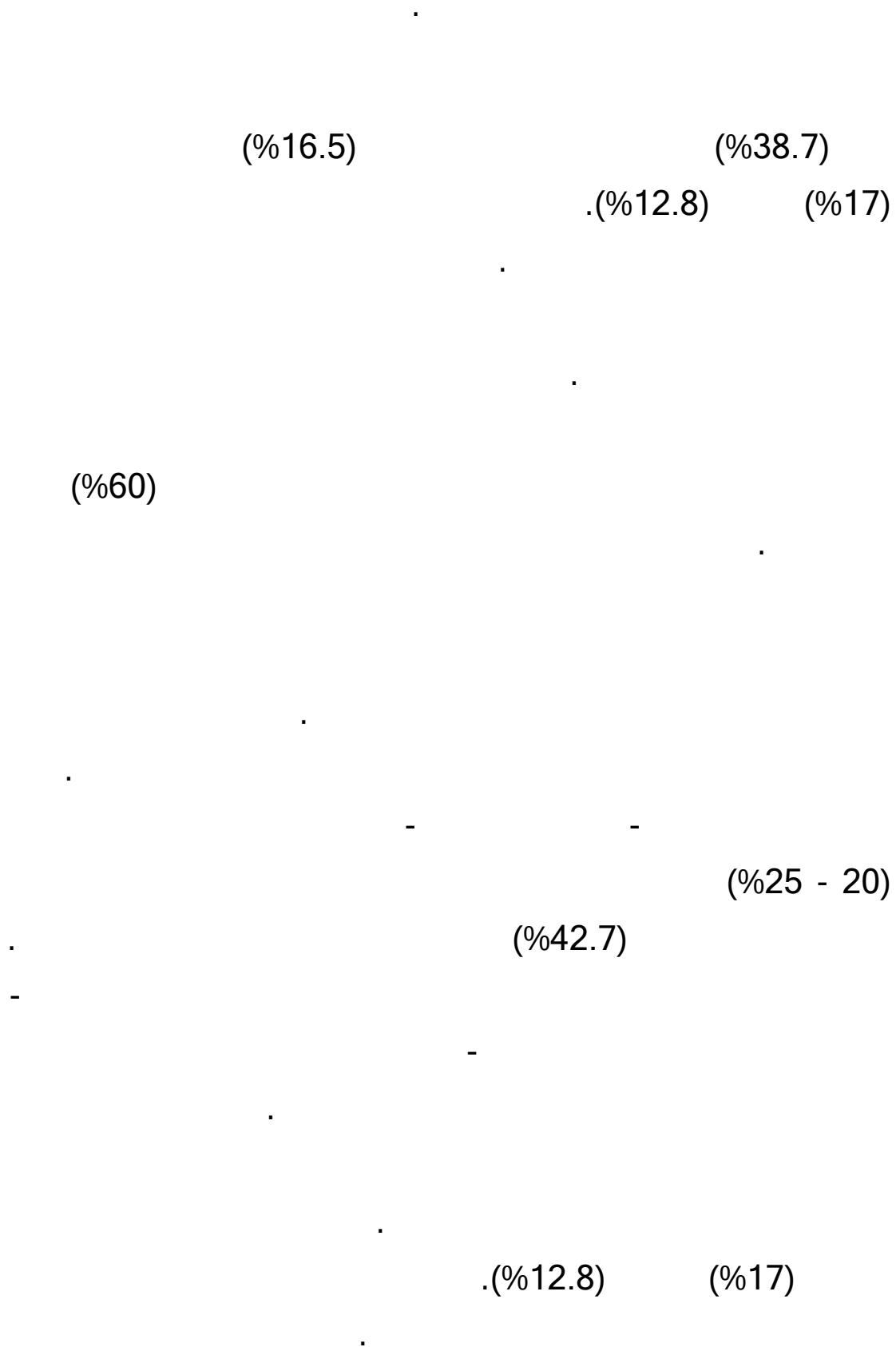
(%50.6)

(%18.8)

(%18.8)

.

.()



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 .
 .
 .
 :
 . 1956
)
) (1969) (1958
 . (1989
 : (27) (26)
 (26)
 :

		()						
%		%		%		%		
%45.3	81	%10.1	18	%24.6	44	%18.4	33	
%51.8	44	%8.2	7	%32.9	28	%7.1	6	
%60	72	%4.2	5	%17.5	21	%18.3	22	
%51.3	197	%7.8	30	%24.2	93	%15.9	61	

(26)

-

(%4.2) (%60)

() -

.() (%32.9) (%7.1)

-

.(%18.3) (%18.4)

.(%45.3)

.

%45.3)

.(%60 %51.8

(%51.3) %50

() ()

.(%24.2) () (%15.9)

(27)

:

%		%		%		%		%		
%2.2	2	%46.5	43	%31.4	30	%22.8	21	%61.5	58	
-	-	%37.3	13	%34.3	12	%25.8	9	%74.3	26	
%3.7	2	%35.4	19	%48.3	26	%24.2	13	%70.5	38	

%2.1	4	%40.9	75	%37.2	68	%23.4	43	%66.9	122	
------	---	-------	----	-------	----	-------	----	-------	-----	--

(27)

:

-

.(%31.4) (%22.8) (%61.5)
.(%46.5)

.

-

(%25.8) (%74.3)
.(%37.3) (%34.3)

)

.(

-

-

.

(%51.3) (26)

.

(%15.9)

() (%15.9) () -
 (%66.9) (%40.1) - (%24.2)

(%37.2) (%40.9)
 (%23.4)

. ()

.

:

.

.

.

.

:
(28)

:

%		%		%		%		%		
%56.2	91	%24.6	48	%46.8	84	%13.5	24	%49.4	83	
%66.5	57	%48.9	42	%59.4	51	%18.7	6 1	%68.8	59	
%54.1	65	%44.1	53	%55	66	%23.3	28	%63.7	74	
%57.6	223	%36	139	%51.9	201	%17.5	68	%55.8	216	

: (28)

() -

(%59.4) (%66.5) (%68.8)
.(%18.7) (%48.9)

-

(%63.7)
(%44.1) (%54.1) (%55)
.(%23.3)

.

.

.

(%23.3)

.(%18.7 %13.5)

.

-

:

(%46.8)

(%49.4)

(%56.2)

.(%13.5)

(%24.6)

()

.

.

.

()

(%57.6)

(%55.8)

1956/1/1

(%51.9)

()

(%36)

(%17.5)

(%55.8)

(%36)

(%51.9)

(%17.5)

:

(29)

:

%		%		%		%		%		
%0.6	1	%20.8	37	%40.4	72	%26.5	47	%62.9	112	
		%21.3	18	%35.3	30	%54.6	54	%83.6	71	
%4.1	5	%21.7	26	%35	42	%41.9	51	%69.1	82	
%1.5	6	%21	81	%39.6	144	%39.7	152	%69.4	266	

:

(29)

-

(

)

(%35.3)

(%54.6)

(%83.6)

:

.(%21.3)

				-
	(%69.1)			
	.(%4.1)	(%21.7)	(%35)	(%41.9)
				-
	(%40.4)	(%62.9)	:	
		.(%.6)	(%20.8)	(%26.5)
-				
				-
			.	
				.
				.
			.	
	)			.
.(		)		(

(30)

:

%		%		%		%		
%26	26	%36	36	%42	42	%62	62	

(%69.6)

.

. (%21) (%37.6) (%39.9):

.

.

.

.

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!

: :

(31)

:

		()						
%		%		%		%		
%34.9	60	%30.2	52	%16.9	29	%22.1	38	
%40.8	35	%40.8	35	%7	6	%15.2	13	
%46.6	55	%30.5	36	%13.6	16	%14.4	17	
%39.9	150	%32.8	132	%13.6	51	%18.1	68	

(31)

:

(%34.9)

-

.

(%30.3)

.

(%22.1)

.(%16.9)

-

(%40.8)

(%40.8)

.

-

(%30.5)

.(%46.6)

(%14.4)

.

.

-

-

. ()
 (%7)
 . (%16.9) (%13.6)
 .() (%39.9)
 () : (%32.8)
 (%52)
 .
 .
 (- %13.6)
 (%39.9) (%13.6)
 .()

:
(32)

:

%		%		%		%		%		
%33.3	59	%33.3	59	%16.9	30	%11.3	20	%6.2	11	
%52.4	44	%20.2	17	%13.1	11	%11.9	10	%2.4	2	
%44.1	52	%23.7	28	%8.5	10	%18.6	22	%5.1	6	
%40.9	155	%27.4	104	%14.4	51	%13.7	52	%5	19	

(32)

:

(%52.4)

-

%33.3)

()

.(%44.1

-

. (%33.3) () ()

.() (%16.9)

.

(%44.1) -

()

(18.6)

(%8.5) .(%11.9 %11.3)

) ()

- .(%13.1 %16.9

-

.

(32)

: (33)

(33)

:

%		%		%		%		
%28.4	50	%10.8	19	%42.6	75	%18.8	33	
%41.7	35	%4.8	4	%42.9	36	%9.5	8	
%32.2	38	%5.1	6	%50	59	%9.3	11	

%32.6	123	%7.7	29	%45	170	%13.8	52	
-------	-----	------	----	-----	-----	-------	----	--

: (33)
 (%42.6) -
 ()
 (%10.8) . (%28.4)
 ()
 .(%5.1 %4.8)
 -
 (%42.9) ()
 .(%41.7)
 (%50) -
)
 . ()
 (%41.7)
 () .(%28.4) (%32.2)
 (%18.8)
 (%9.3) (%9.5)
 .()
 ()
 .(%42.6) (%42.9) (%50)
 () ()

- -

() ()

(%61.4) :
.(%50.9) (%59.3)

(34)

:

%		%		%		%		
%30.3	53	%9.7	17	%34.9	61	%25.1	44	
%44.7	38	%4.7	4	%34.1	29	%16.5	14	
%35.2	42	%1.7	2	%35.3	42	%28.5	34	
%35.2	133	%6.1	23	%35.1	133	%24.3	92	

: (34)

(%34.9) -

. ()

(%44.7) -

.

() (%16.5)

.(%28.5 %25.1)

() -

(%28.5)

()

.(%35.2) (%35.3)

(%40.9) ()

.

(%45) ()

. %50

.

(%32.6)

)

(

() (%35.1)

() (%35.2)

.

.

:

.

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(35)

:

%		%		%		%		
%12.6	11	%9.8	17	%17.8	31	%52.9	92	
%12.6	11	%3.4	3	%5.7	5	%78.2	68	
%12	14	%1.7	2	%12	14	%73.5	86	
%16.1	61	%5.9	22	%13.6	51	%65.1	246	

: (35)
 (%52.9) -
 %78.2)
 .(%73.5
 ()
 .
 %3.4) (%9.8
 (%1.7
 .
 -
 (%73.5 %78.2)
 .
 .
 -
 %12.6)
 (%12 %12.6
 .

(%65.1)

(%16.1)

(36)

%		%		%		%		
%22.8	40	%18.9	33	%28.6	50	%74.6	131	
%23.6	20	%54.2	46	%50.6	43	%83.6	71	
%16.7	20	%42.5	51	%45	54	%85.9	103	
%21	80	%34.2	130	%38.6	147	%80	205	

: (36)

: -

(%22.8) (%28.6) (%74.6) :

.(%18.9)

: : -

(%50.6) (%54.2) (%83.6)

.(%23.6)

(%85.9) : :

.(%16.7) (%42.5) (%45)

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.

.

(35)

(36)

(%80)

(%80)

.

(%21)

.

(%34.2) (%38.6)

.

%		%		%		%		
%45.2	79	%35.4	62	%16.6	29	%33.2	58	
%43.7	37	%40.2	34	%34.2	29	%37.7	32	
%51.6	62	%30.7	37	%45.5	44	%34	41	
%46.8	178	%35.1	133	%13.5	51	%34.5	131	

		:	(37)	
			:	-
	(%45.2)	:		
	(%33.2)		(%35.4)	
			.(%16.6)	
(%43.7)	:		:	-
(%37.7)		(%40.2)		
		.(%34.2)		
(%51.6)	:		:	-
(%34)		.(%45.5)		
		.(%30.7)		
		.		
			.	
			.	
			.	
			.	
			.	
			.	
(%43.7	%45.2	)	(%51.6)	

(%30.7) ()
) .
 () ()
 .

(38)

(%60)

(%41)
 .(%26.3) (%25)

(38)

/)

: (

%		%		%		%		
%60	60	%25	25	%41	41	%26.3	26	

: _____

()

.

(40) (39) .

(39)

:

%		%		%		%		
%12.7	22	%29.5	51	%12.7	22	%45.1	78	
%22.1	19	%15.1	13	%20.9	18	%41.9	36	
%9.3	11	%5.9	7	%30.5	36	%54.2	64	
%13.8	52	%18.8	71	%20.2	76	%47.2	178	

: (39)

() (%45.1) : -

(%12.7)

(%29.5) .()

()

.

(%20.9) () (%41.9) : -

. (%15.1) ()

. (%22.1) ()

() (%54.2) : -

(%5.9) () (%9.3)

.

()

.

.

(40)

:

%		%		%		%		
%12.6	22	%16.6	29	%21.7	38	%49.1	86	
%18.6	16	%16.3	14	%25.6	22	%39.5	34	
%25.2	30	%5	6	%23.5	28	%43.7	52	
%17.9	68	%12.9	49	%23.2	88	%45.3	172	

: (40)

(%49.1) () : -

.(%16.6) .() (%12.6)

(%39.5) () : -

.() (%18.6) (%16.3)

() (%43.7) () : -

. (%5) (%25.2)

.

()

()

.(%25.2)

(%16.3)

(%16.6)

(%5)

.

(%45.3)

()

.

(%47.2)

.

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. ...

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(41)

%		%		%		%		
%21	37	%3.4	6	%15.3	27	%60.2	106	
%20.7	18	%1.1	1	%36.8	32	%40.2	35	
%23.3	28	%1.7	2	%28.3	34	%45.8	55	
%21.7	83	%2.3	9	%24.3	93	%51.2	196	

:

(41)

(%60.2)

-

)

.(%45.2 %40.2

.

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1

(42)

□

: (42)
 (%52.8) -
) ()
 .(%37.4 %42.8
 ()
 (%23.4) (%38.2)
 .(%7.3) (%8)
 .
 -
 (%27.1) (%51.4)
 .
 .
 -
 (%52.9) (%27)
 .
 (%12.4) (%25.6) (%46.1)
 () (%10.7)
 .(%45.7)
)
 (
 .()

:

.

.

.

:

:

(43)

%		%		%		%		
%12.9	23	%3.4	6	%34.3	61	%49.4	88	
%12.8	11	%10.5	9	%31.4	27	%45.3	39	
%30.8	36	%4.3	5	%23.9	28	%41	48	
%18.4	70	%5.2	20	%30.4	116	%45.9	175	

:

(43)

()

(%49.4)

-

(%45.3)

.(%41)

.
 () () -
 (%4.3 %3.4) (%10.5)

!!

() -
 (%41)
 .(%30.8) ()
 - - ()

- ()

-

.
 (%45.9)
 ()
 (%18.4)

.

%		%		%		%		
%25	44	%11.4	20	%32.4	57	%30.1	53	
%27.1	23	%11.8	10	%31.8	27	%29.4	25	
%25.9	30	%9.5	11	%24.1	28	%40.5	47	
%25.7	97	%10.9	41	%29.7	112	%33.2	125	

()
(%40.5)
-

%29.4
)

(45)

:

						) (				
%		%		%		%		%		
%30	36	%14	17	%22.4	27	%32.4	39	%46.5	56	
%35.9	19	%17	9	%20.9	11	%26.5	14	%47.2	25	
%34.1	28	%11	9	%28	23	%35.6	30	%52.5	43	
%32.6	83	%13.8	35	%24.1	61	%32.7	83	%48.7	124	

: (45)

(%46.5) : -

.

()

() (%14)

.

(%47.2) -

() (%20.9)

.

) (%17)

(%11 %14) (

() (%35.9)

.(%34.1 %30)

-

(%52.5)

.(%28)

(%35.6)

(%11)

.

.

(%33.2)

(44)

()

() (%29.7)

(%62.9)

.

(%25.7)

()

(%32.6)

)

(

.(..)

-

(%48.7)

-

.

.

.(%11 %17 %14)

:

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(46)

:

%		%		%		%		
%5.8	10	%15.6	27	%14.5	25	%63.6	110	
%3.6	3	%6	5	%10.7	9	%79.8	67	
%8.6	10	%1.2	2	%4.3	5	%85.3	99	
%6.2	23	%9.1	34	%10.5	39	%74	276	

: (46)

() (%63.6) -

.() (%5.8)

(%15.6) ()

.

(%79.8) -

(%3.6)

()

.

(%85.3) -

.

(%1.2)

.() (%8.6)

(%74)

(%85.3 %79.8 %63.6)

()

%3.6 %5.8)

.(%8.6

:

.() :

:(48) (47)

: (47)

%		%		%		%		
%27.2	48	%4.6	8	%39	69	%31.6	56	
%26.5	22	%4.8	4	%33.7	28	%33.7	28	
%34.6	40	%5.2	6	%25.9	30	%38.8	45	
%29.3	110	%4.9	18	%33.8	127	%34.3	129	

() () : (47)
 .(%27.2) (%31.6)
 . (%4.6)
 (%33.7) ()
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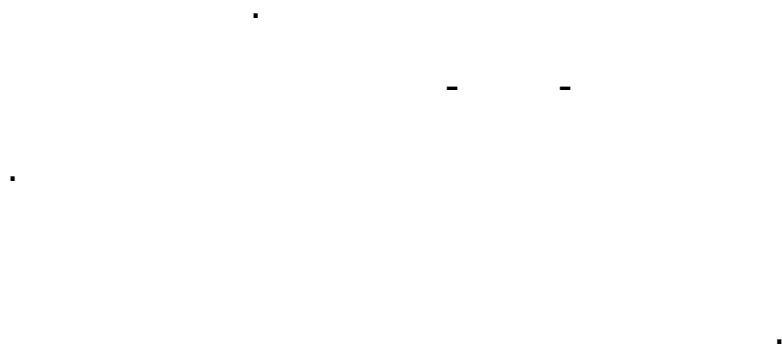
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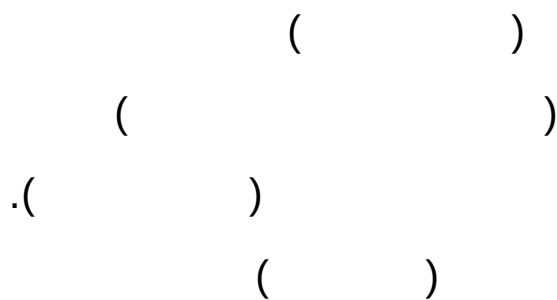


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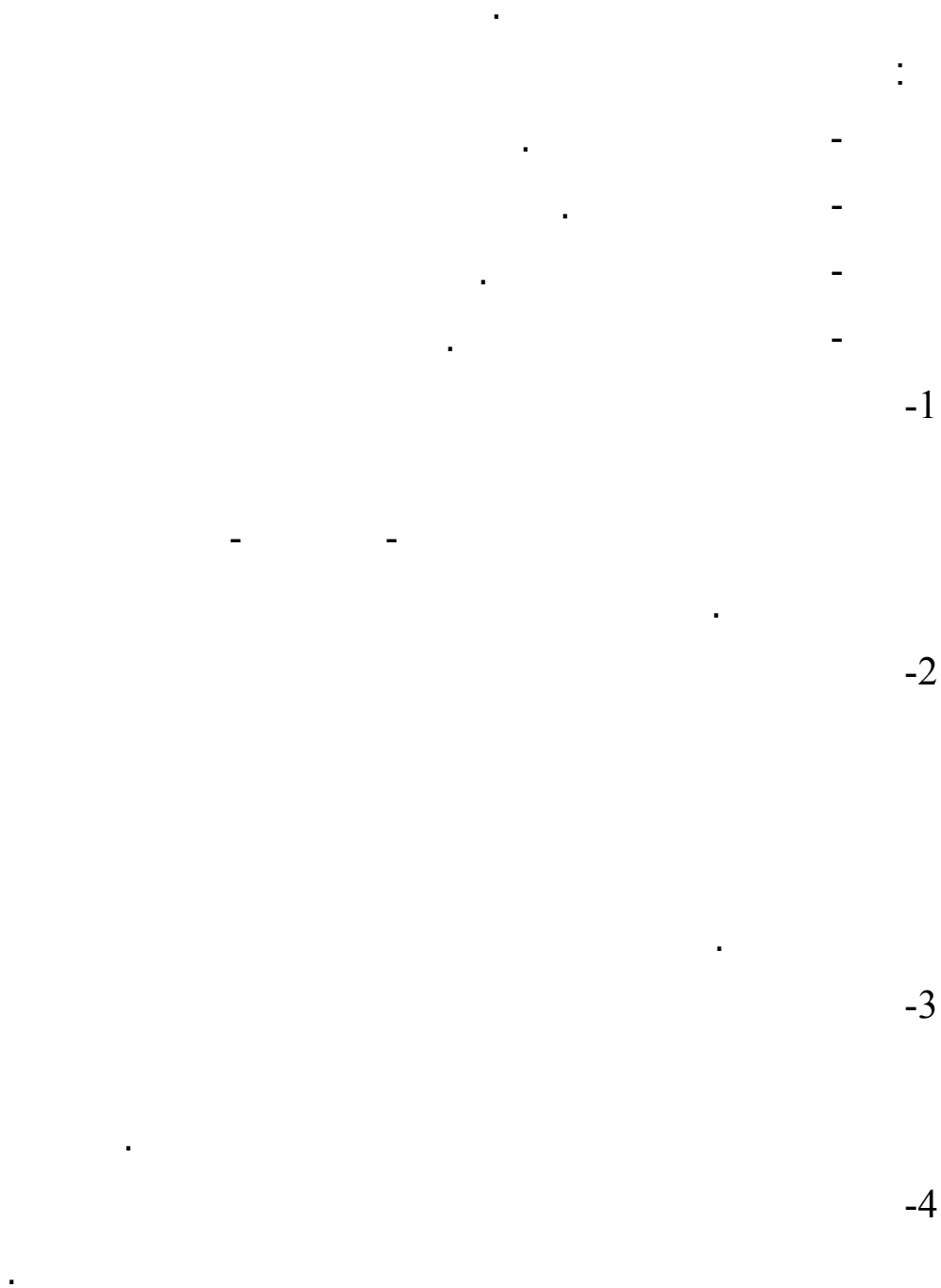
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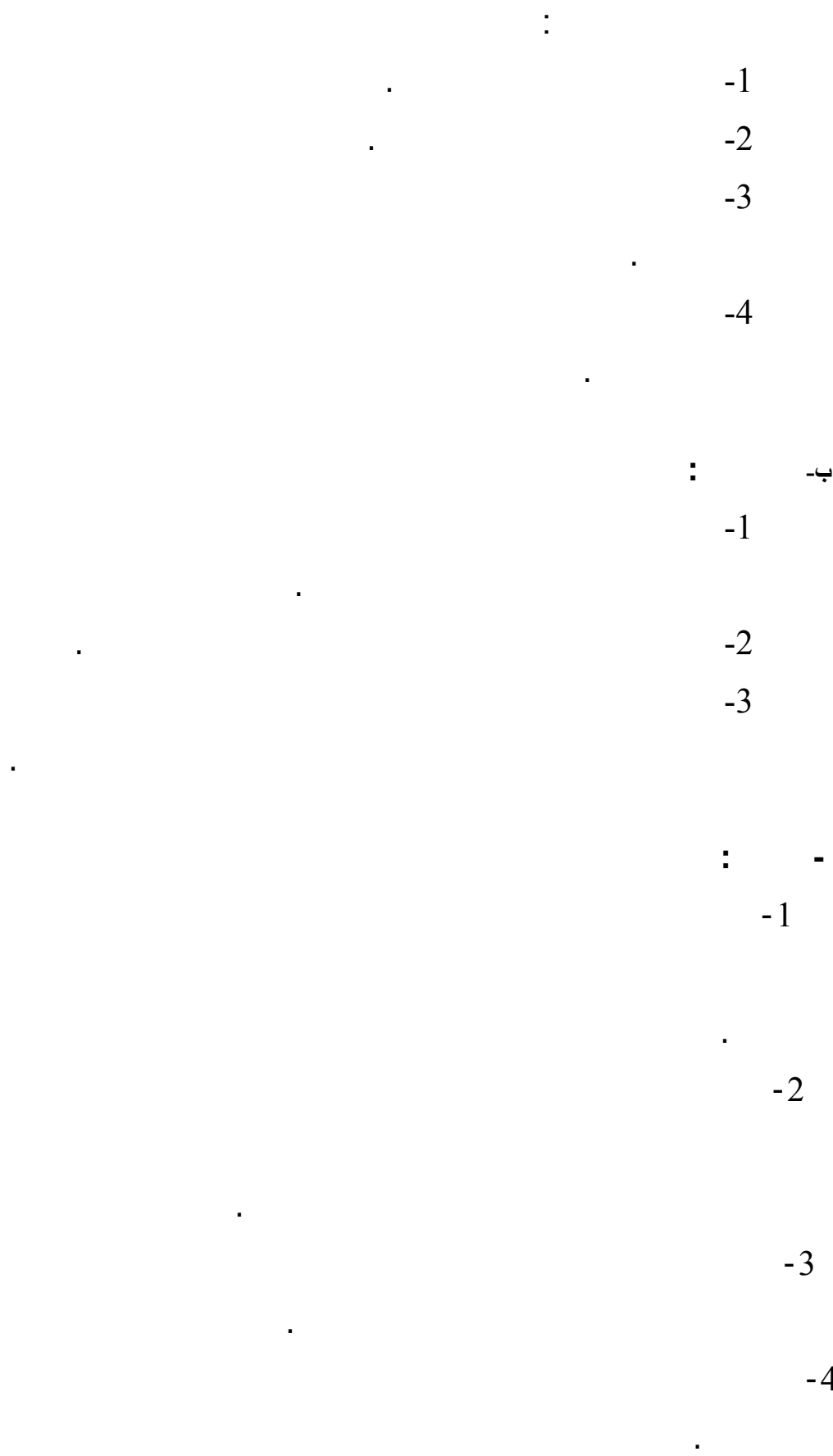
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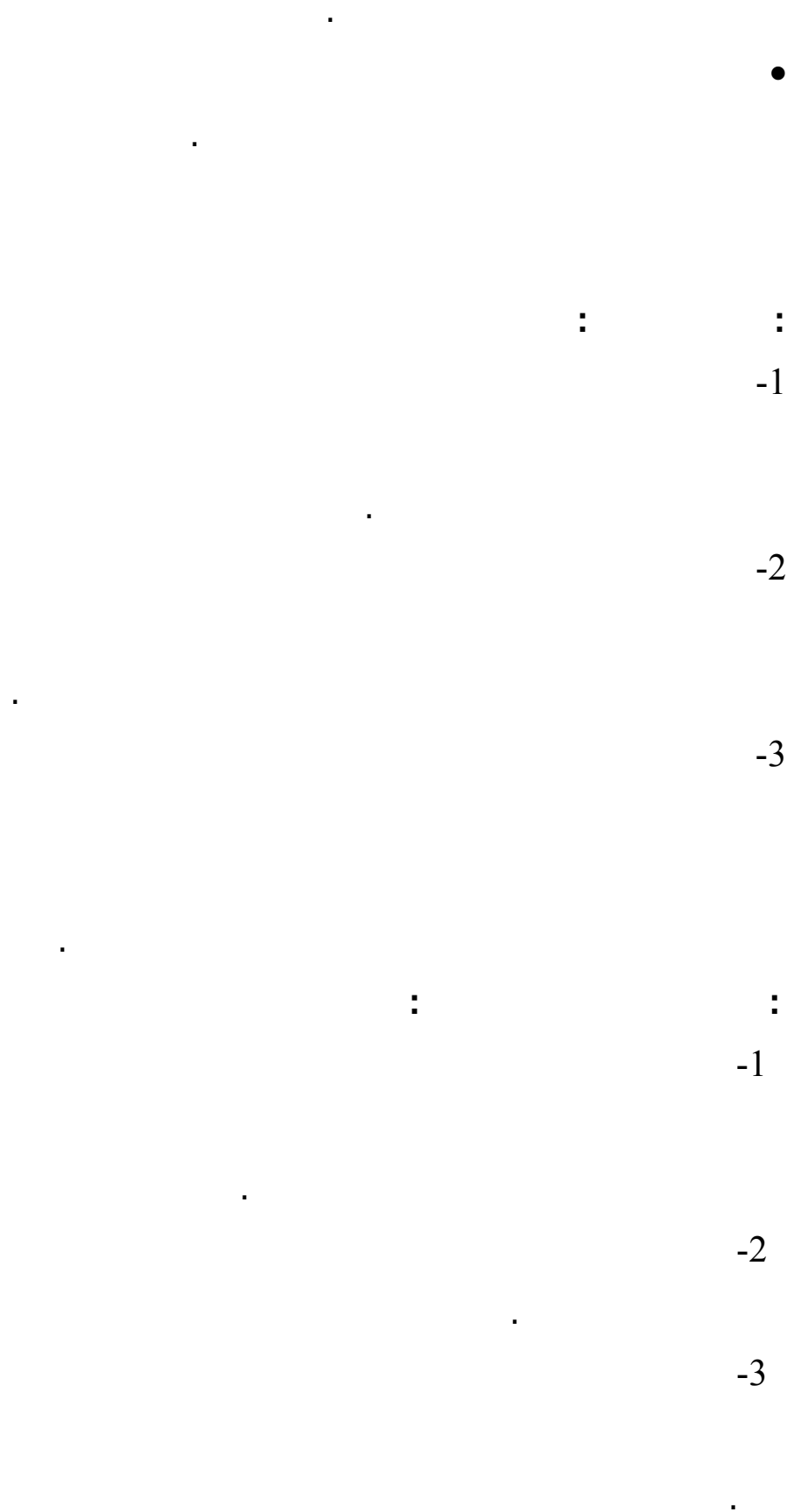
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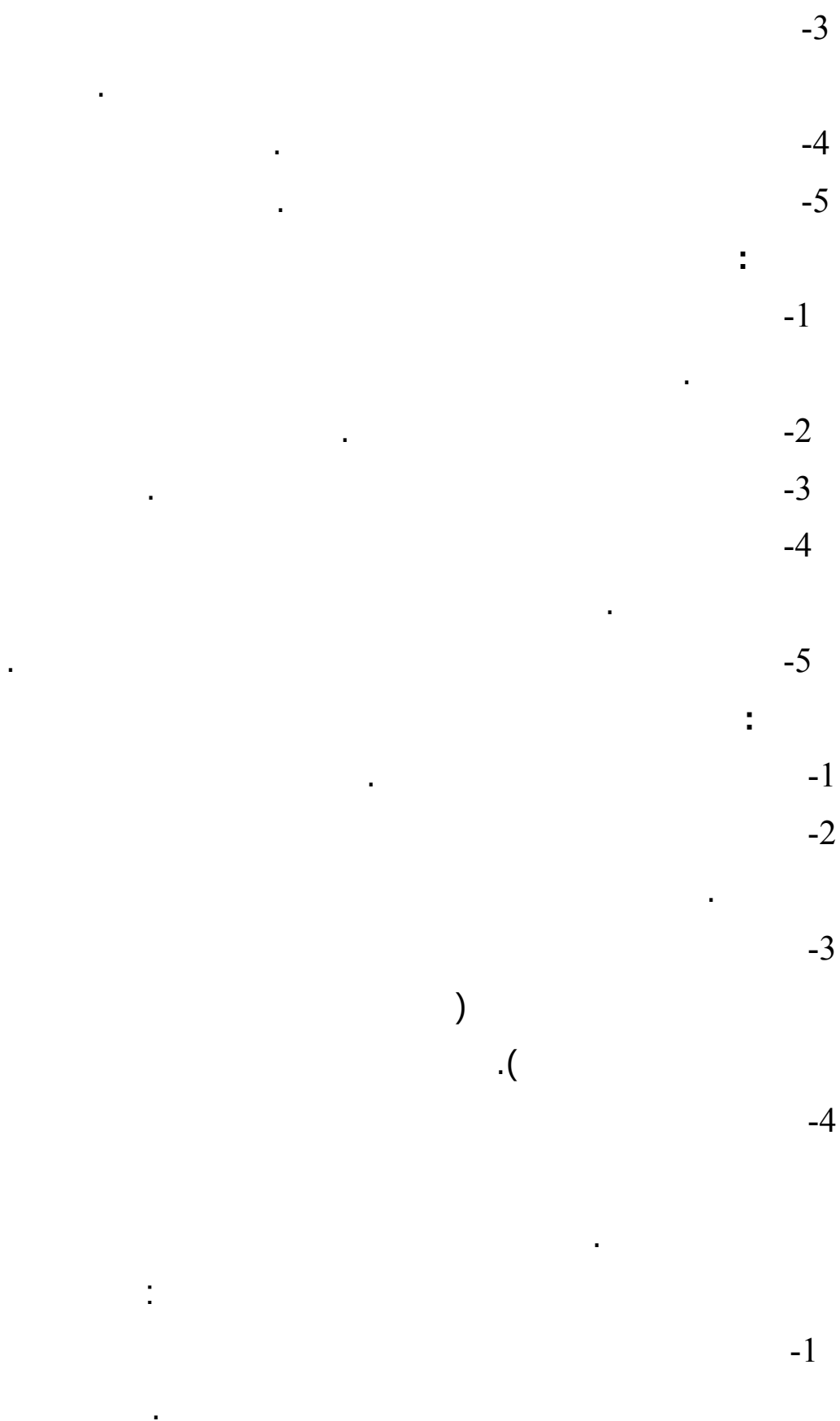
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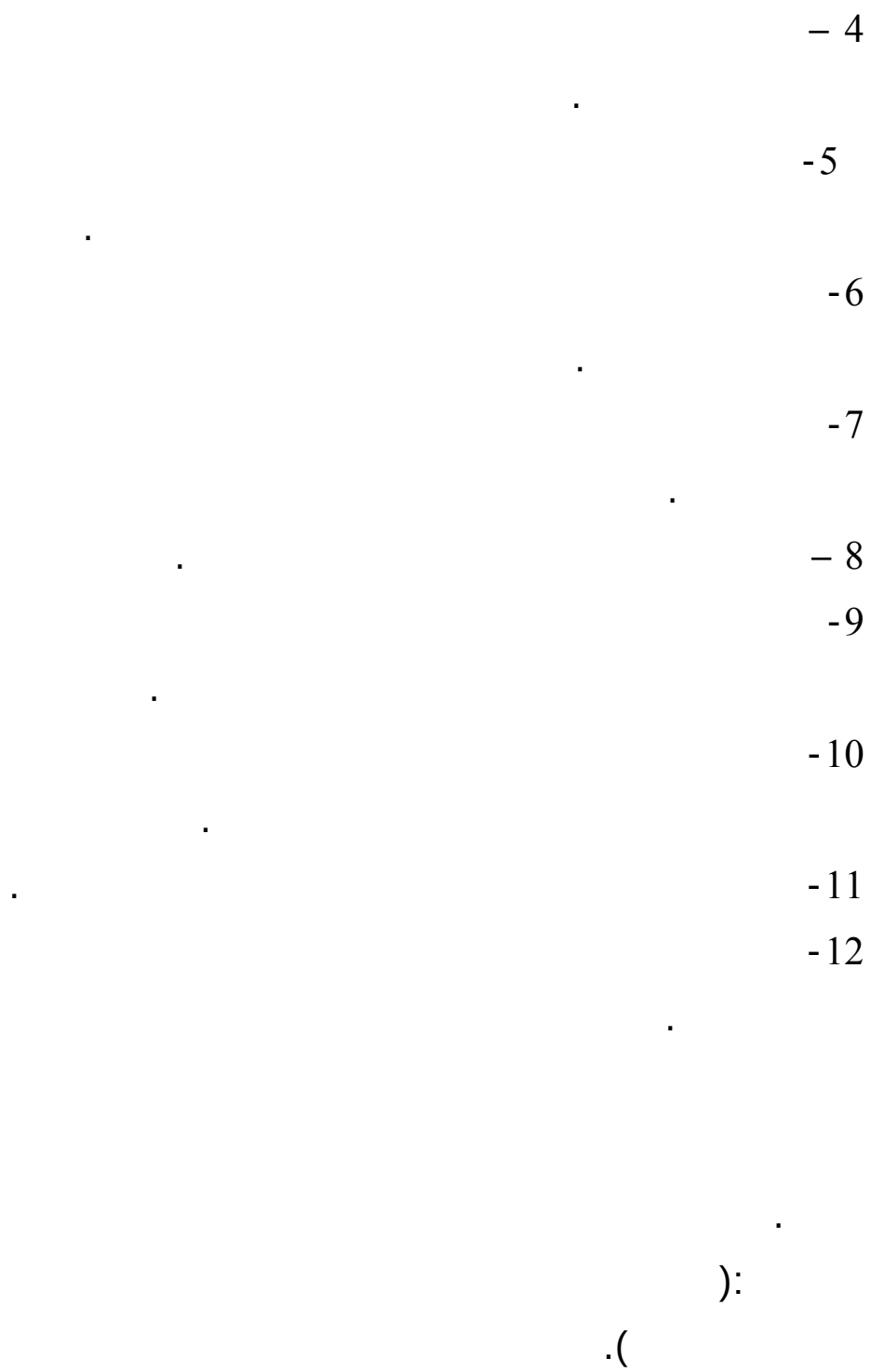
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جامعة الخرطوم

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دراسة للمشروع السياسي الإسلامي في السودان (1989 - 2005)

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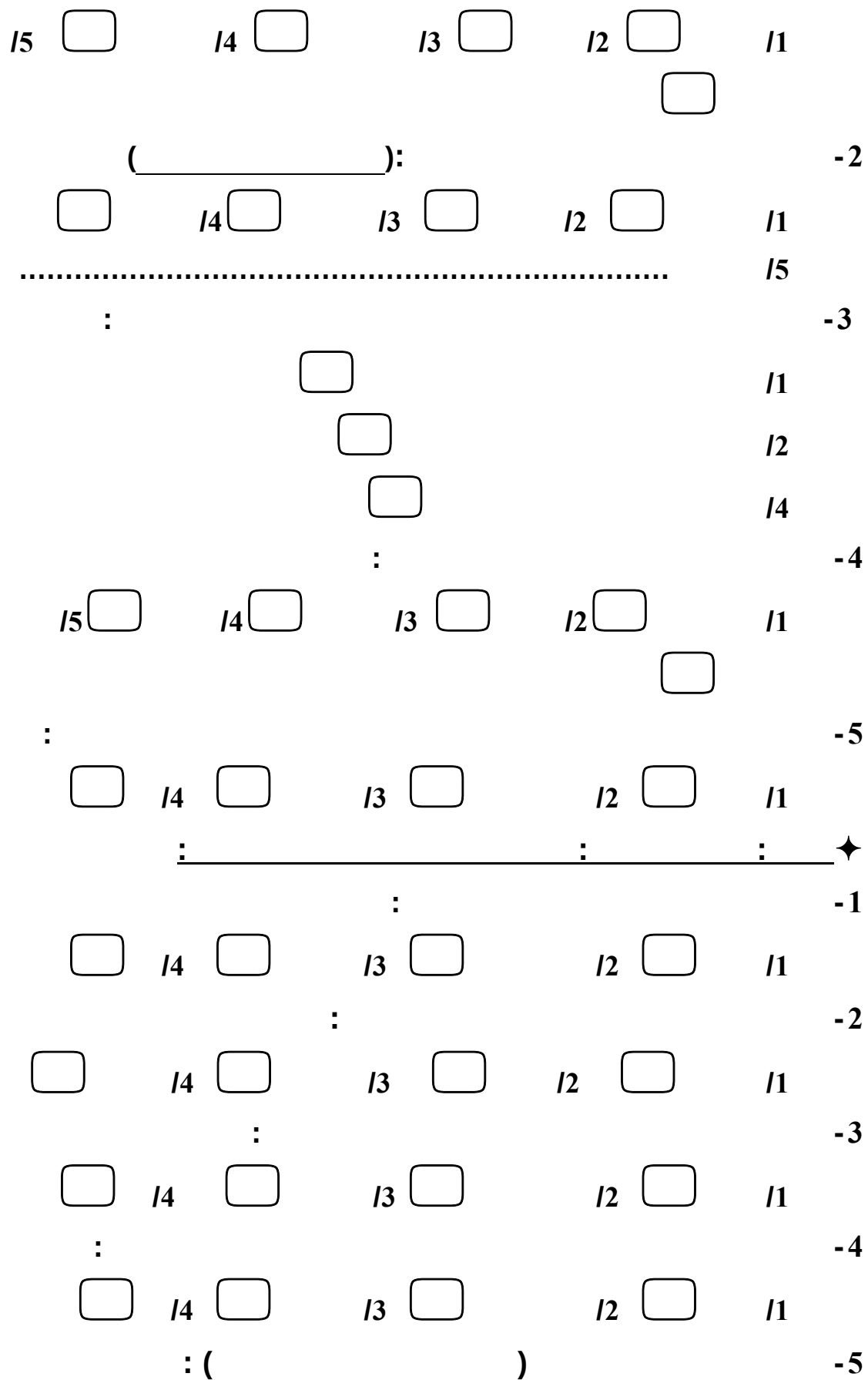
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دراسة للمشروع السياسي الإسلامي في السودان (1989 - 2005)

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